2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

CHAPTER I

The Background

Malta and her sister islands, Gozo and Comino, lie midway between Gibraltar and Lebanon, at almost the exact geographical centre of the Mediterranean. Sicily lies just 58 miles to the north, Tripoli 220 miles due south and Tunis slightly over 200 miles to the west. The Maltese archipelago thus forms a port of call between Europe and North Africa, between the Christian and the Moslem worlds. The Maltese have been in contact with both for centuries, and the cultures of both have contributed many traits which the islanders have adapted to their own use.

Malta, the largest and southernmost island, is seventeen miles long and nine miles wide, and covers an area of 95 square miles. Gozo is only nine miles by five miles, with an area of 26 square miles. Finally, the little island of Comino, which lies in the three-mile-wide channel separating the two larger islands, has an area of one square mile.

The islands are composed entirely of tertiary limestone, and the soil consists of clays and marls. Although the land rises to a maximum of little more than 800 feet near Dingli, the terrain is varied, and often broken, with jagged escarpments falling into narrow valleys, which run out to level fields. A visitor to the islands, especially during the long dry summer, is struck at once by the absence of vegetation and the rocky aspect of the countryside. This is, in part, a false impression, for although there are few trees, rubble retaining and boundary walls hide the network of small cultivated fields. Occasionally, the dark green foliage of a carob or olive tree reaches over these stone enclosures to add a sudden splash of colour to the shimmering white-yellow of the summer landscape.

The soft yellow limestone gives a continuity to the scenery. Houses, villages and whole towns seem to grow up out of the rocky matrix from which they are built, and from which they are distinguished only by the regular outline of the buildings against

[text continues on p. 3]

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

In Oxford, Professor Arthur Thomson has set the resources of his Department, including a calculating machine, at my disposal, and has helped me continually with advice and kindly criticism. My former teachers—Sir Arthur Evans, Mr. Henry Balfour, Mr. E. T. Leeds, and Professor J. L. Myres—have accorded me in many conversations the combined privileges of a colleague and a pupil. I fear that I have, albeit unwittingly, often pirated their ideas. My colleague, Miss Blackwood, has devoted the greater part of a Long Vacation to helping to finish and prepare this paper for the press before my leaving England, and has performed the laborious task of looking over proofs in my absence. 12

II.—Geography.

The Maltese archipelago consists of the islands of Malta, Gozo, Comino, Cominetto and Filfola. The two latter are uninhabited, and Comino is practically untenanted. We are therefore only concerned with the islands of Malta and Gozo. 131 [101]

Malta lies about 60 miles south of Sicily and 180 miles north of the African coast. Its maximum length is 18½ miles, its maximum breadth 8½ miles, and its area 95 square miles. Gozo is considerably smaller, and has an area of about 20 square miles.

Geologically, the islands are Late Eocene (3). The eastern and most thickly inhabited part of Malta consists of globigerina limestone, which overlies lower coralline limestone; in the western part these beds are covered with beds of greensand and blue clay or marl, over which lies the upper coralline limestone. The rock is everywhere extremely friable, and is perpetually disintegrating under the influence of wind and rain. Except in one or two places the soil is seldom more than a few inches deep. 133

The surrounding seas are warm and shallow; a rise of 50 fathoms would connect Malta and Sicily, and a rise of 200 fathoms would join North Africa and Europe and include Malta as a craggy bastion. The shallowest sea, however, lies more to the west. Malta should, therefore, be more correctly described as an outlying pier of an old land bridge rather than part of the land bridge itself. It seems probable that slow, tectonic movements are actually in progress to-day, and that the archipelago is sinking; but it is extremely unlikely that any men of whom we possess traces at present, with the doubtful exception of a few fragments from the Weid Dalam, came to Malta when it was still part of the mainland.

The island is tilted from south to north. The cliffs along the southern coast are high and precipitous, and some of the loftiest parts of the island are close to the shore.

The undercliff here forms a pleasant contrast to the less fertile parts of Malta. Carib trees are not uncommon, potatoes are cultivated on terraces, and the tiny fields are irrigated, as elsewhere in Malta, by little runlets conducted along channels 137 312

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

made of open stone pipes. On the rocks, in January, there was a wild profusion of flowering heath, of a species akin to our heather (*Erica*). Where the water overflows, there are tiny reed beds, but always smaller and less luxuriant than those of the Eastern Mediterranean. In some places on these cliffs the charlock appears to have competed successfully with *Oxalis cernua*.

The north coast is generally more shelving. There are no mountains, but the whole surface is cut by deep ravines, which are for the most part dry, but which may contain as much as three feet of water during a spate; the mouths of some of these valleys form small fiords. The western part of the island, which contains the upper coralline beds, contrasts strongly with the eastern. The hills are higher, the valleys bigger and more rounded, and the country is less parched, owing to the underlying marls. The scenery of Gozo resembles that of Western Malta, but the cliffs are higher and grander, the fields are larger, and the country is greener.

Owing to the large population every foot of soil is precious, and the whole of Malta is parcelled out into innumerable tiny fields, some hardly more than a few yards square, each being separated from the next by a stone wall. Olives and carobs grow as elsewhere in the Mediterranean, but for the most part they are limited to the courses of the streams; oranges flourish where there is sufficient water to irrigate them, but in Malta one looks in vain for the abundant orange groves of Sicily, or the pleasant tangled hillsides of Northern Cyprus. The myrtle is almost absent, the numbers of wild myrtle bushes can nearly be counted on the fingers of a man's hands. The flora (4) generally is most akin to that of Sicily; 94 per cent. of the Maltese species are found in that island, 91 per cent. in Africa, and 90·5 per cent. in the Levant (5). There are three things which are predominant in all the scenery of Malta: stone walls, goats, and the yellow flowers of the virulent *Oxalis cernua*, which not even the goats will eat.

Owing to the small size of Malta and the nature of its surface, the weather is dominated by two factors—the sea and the direction of the wind. The mean annual temperature is 66·6° F., the mean annual rainfall is 21·6 inches, precipitation normally occurring on 81 days. The mean relative humidity for seven years is 79·1 per cent. The coldest month is February (mean temperature 52·9° F.); the hottest August (77·9° F.). During June and July practically no rain falls, and in August the mean is only 0·13 mm. (6).

In working out constants, I have divided the islands into two areas—Urban and Rural. This is the division in the census (31), and corresponds very closely to a marked difference in the conditions under which the population lives. The former includes the fortified towns and suburbs, Valletta, Floriana, Cottoneria, Senglea, Conspicua, Sliema, St. Julian, Pieta Misida, Hamrum, Birchircara, Curmi, Paula, Tarxien, Zabbar, Calcara and Rabato; the latter, the more isolated villages in the country.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

after the next meeting of Parliament; and to declare the isle of Malta to be part of Europe"—

> that the said Island of Malta and dependencies thereof shall be deemed, taken and construed to be part of Europe for all purposes, and as to all matters and things whatever; any law or laws, usage or custom, or act or acts, to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

But this enactment, although it satisfied the administrators, did not wholly silence the men of science, who produced, in addition to Europe and Africa, yet a third continental claimant to the geographical ownership of the Maltese Islands. In the middle of the nineteenth century a Maltese architect and engineer named Grognet de Vassé, best known as the designer of the great Parish Church of Mosta, propounded the theory that the submerged continent of Atlantis lay between Cyrenaica in the east and Tunis in the west, almost filling the indentations in the coast of North Africa which the Romans called Syrtes Major and Syrtes Minor and we know to-day as the Gulfs of Sidra and Gabes. Of this continent, said Grognet, the Maltese archipelago formed the north-western corner; and he published a learned treatise in support of his theory, which he based on ample references to mythology, etymology and classical geography.

It is an ingenious piece of imaginative reasoning whereby the author places the Elysian Fields and the lower world of the ancients in Atlantis, the mouths of the rivers Acheron and Phlegethon in that part of Atlantis which is Malta—namely, in the Grand Harbour and the harbour of Marsa Mxett—and an outlet of the river Styx in one of the springs of the gardens of the Villa Frere, for many years the beautiful residence and garden in Pietà of the distinguished scholar, man of letters, diplomatist and friend of Sir Walter Scott, the Right Honourable John Hookham Frere.

Nevertheless the legislators of 1801 were rightly inspired, for in climate and vegetation no less than in the works of

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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man Malta is essentially European, a projection of Europe into the south. Its vegetation is of the Mediterranean type, similar to that of Southern Spain, the Riviera, Sicily and the islands of the Ægean although, strangely enough, it lacks among its wild flowers the cyclamen which so delightfully and characteristically, in springtime, carpets the ground in Cyprus and the Isles of Greece. Here and there, it is true, there rises above its pines and cypresses and carob-trees an occasional stately date-palm, suggesting a garden-escape from the groves of Tunis. And Tunis, whence come the best dates in the world, lies, be it noted, to the north of Malta. But the fruit on the date-palms of Malta practically never ripens. Malta is too European for that.

2

If anything shaped as differently from a circle as the Mediterranean can be said to have a centre, that centre is Malta. The Maltese archipelago is equidistant from the Mediterranean's western and eastern extremities; it is its half-way house between Occident and Orient, historically no less than geographically; it has been its nerve-centre—and more than its nerve-centre, its magnet—from the "time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." All the people of the Middle Sea have possessed, influenced or coveted Malta at one time or another, the first to do so of whom we have definite knowledge being a small seafaring, trading and colonizing tribe from its easternmost shores. "The twin islands of Melita and Gaulos," wrote Professor Freeman, "lay immediately in the way of Phœnician adventurers" and became, and remained for centuries, a Phœnician settlement. It was the all-absorbing power of Rome that first brought them into the European fold.

As the nerve-centre, as the magnet, of the Mediterranean Malta was all but snatched back from the European fold when the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent sought

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

(and where do they not exist?), his book gave a certain amount of offence in the more sensitive quarters of the island. None the less, it includes a chapter which should have atoned for any "causes of stumbling" created in those quarters. The chapter is entitled "Dolores" and concerns the Shepherds' Maltese maid-of-all-work and their baby's nurse. "Dolores" is not only a telling tribute to some of the salient virtues of the Maltese character; it is one of the most sensitive and moving descriptions of the personal devotion of a servant to her employers and her charge that I have had the good fortune to read.

4

A word has been said earlier in this chapter as to the grandeur of the cliff scenery of Malta. Inland, on the other hand, the countryside can scarcely be called either grand or impressive, and during the dry summer months there is little colour to set against the brown aridity of the fields other than the sage of the olive, the carob and the fig-trees, and the pinks and whites of the oleanders beside the roads. But after the autumn rains have begun to refresh the parched earth the land rapidly assumes a mantle of young green, and the wild flowers appear shyly above ground, beginning with two lovely miniature blooms—the brilliantly blue *Iris minuta* and the even more ethereal, strongly scented "*satarina*" (*N. serotinus*). This, the tiniest of the narcissi, looks as if it had been called into being by a touch of the fairy's wand in Walt Disney's *Fantasia*.

Later, in March and April, Malta and Gozo alike seem to glow with the crimson, deepening into purple, of the *sulla*, the clover or sainfoin with which thousands of acres are sown for fodder. Among the most striking blends of colour are those produced by many varieties of Bougainvillæa (which flourishes exceedingly in Malta) and the purple-and-cream flowers of the wild caper, against the background of the rich gold of the fortifications.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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Classical authors as well as travellers of the Renaissance and later ages have praised Malta's fertility, the quality of its corn, its fruit, its linen and its cotton,[1] the sweet scent of its roses,[2] the delicate aroma of the wild thyme that flavours its honey. Cicero, in fact, called Malta a land of honey and roses, and it was being described in similar terms nearly two thousand years later. "The fruits are of exquisite flavour," wrote Dr Meryon, Lady Hester Stanhope's sorely tried physician, companion and biographer. "Flowers are very fine, and I could not help fancying the roses more fragrant than in my own country. Malta honey is highly esteemed." Elsewhere the Doctor remarks that "no people are more attached to their country than the Maltese to their barren rock"; and it is natural enough that the Maltese of to-day should like to refer to their island as "the flower of the world."

This phrase, if held to refer solely to scenery and vegetation, might appear to some to verge on the excessive. If it be taken to apply to the many-sidelines of Malta's interest and amenities it does not lack justification.

[1] During the era of sailing-ships Malta, and especially the casal of Zebbuġ, produced a heavy cotton sail-cloth which earned a wide reputation and was exported all over Europe.

[2] The name Attard, the charming old casal half-way between Hamrun and Mdina, means "the village of roses."

Arms of G. M. Manoel de Vilhena

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GOZO

CHAPTER XIX

Gozo

All round the cave-mouth there flourished a luxuriant copse of alder trees and black poplars and rich-scented cypresses: therein roosted birds of long wing, owls and hawks and chattering hook-billed crows—birds of the sea whose livelihood was from the waters. A young strong vine loaded with bunches of grapes wreathed the opening of the cave. Four springs quite near together jetted out translucent water in separate rills ingeniously contrived, each to water its own garden-plot. The soft lawns were starred with parsley and violets. Even an immortal coming upon the nook would pause before its beauty and feel his heart made glad.

IT IS POSSIBLE—INDEED, PROBABLE—THAT THE MODERN visitor would fail to recognize from these words, taken from T. E. Lawrence's translation of the *Odyssey*, the cave of Calypso as it appears to-day, surmounting and overlooking the sandy bay of Ramla on the north coast of Gozo. Still less easily, perhaps, would he recognize it from the passage in *Télémaque* in which Fénelon describes the grotto in language even more exuberant. As Malta is S. Paul's island, so is Gozo Calypso's; and it may be that nothing but an earthly paradise was deemed meet for the entertainment by an immortal of so critical a guest as Odysseus.

True, there are corners of Gozo that fall not far short of the picture imagined by the great Archbishop of Cambrai: I have in mind especially the little Chapel of Lunzjata (the Annunziata) in a grove of ancient almond- and carob-trees between Victoria and the village of Kerchem, facing the munificent Perellos's graceful fountain at the head of the rich little *wied* (valley) that runs down to Xlendi. Whether this glade is seen in the spring, when it is a mass of blossom

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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137 that would not disgrace Taormina, or in the summer, when its tangled mass of vegetation forms an almost solid screen of verdure from the blazing sun, it would seem a fitting lair for the daughter of Atlas if it did not rather conjure up, with its figs, its vines, its calamus and its pomegranates, a vision of the Song of Songs.

13 Certainly Gozo is more fertile, less rocky, more verdant than is Malta. Edward Lear called its scenery "pomskizillious and gromphiberous, being as no words can describe its magnificence." It is not broken up to anything like the same extent by the stone and rubble walls which in the larger island so provokingly conceal gardens and fields from all except aviators. In Gozo it is easy to enjoy wide vistas of green corn and purple clover, of terraced cultivation along the contours of its seven flat-topped hills.

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13 Like Malta, Gozo ends on its south-western coast in sheer
341 rock-faces that rise abruptly as much as 400 feet from the sea. But elsewhere its coast-line is more varied than Malta's, with its pleasant miniature fjords of Xlendi and Xini, the yellow sands of Ramla, the blue lagoon of Qala Dwejra, the mysterious landlocked bay of Kawra, the grim cliffs of Ta Ċenċ and Ras il Wardija. Its architecture, too, is highly characteristic, and although its villages bear a general resemblance to the casals of Malta, they can be distinguished from these by the handsome carved stone balconies which have happily remained one of Gozo's pleasantest and most live traditions. These balconies are a feature throughout the island but are to be seen at their best in the Manderaggio of Victoria, for Gozo, too, has its Manderaggio.

361 The capital of the island, Rabat or Victoria—Rabat because
7/2 it is the suburb of the walled fortress above it—sprawls pleasantly at the foot of the great rock on which rises, like Edinburgh Castle, its bastioned and embattled citadel. This high place was designed as a stronghold, a place of refuge from the Barbary pirates, just as were the little hill-towns of the Riviera, Eze and many another, that look down on the

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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It may also be combined with a tricky piece of rock-climbing— how tricky the writer can testify from personal experience— by anyone prepared to scale the precipitous islet known as the Fungus Rock, which closes the entrance to the lagoon of Qala Dwejra.

This impressive and now almost inaccessible rock takes its name from the strange and repellent-looking black plant (*Fucus coccineus melitensis*) which grows on its summit and in the days of the Order was regarded as a sovereign remedy against hæmorrhage and dysentery. The plant was a perquisite of the Grand Masters, and a guard was provided in a tower on the mainland to keep away trespassers. Those who came legitimately to take the fungus landed by means of a basket suspended on ropes stretched between the rock and the nearest point on the mainland; an old water-colour in the Malta Museum depicts this means of transit, which has long since disappeared. It was evidently of a somewhat precarious nature, at all events to judge from the account of a gentleman who effected the passage in 1815:[1]

> One object of curiosity on the south side of the island [*sc.* Gozo] is a rock, on which grows a kind of fungus, which is used as a styptic. The passage to this rock is rather curious, if not dangerous; two ropes are made fast on each shore, on which a box with grooves on its edges passes over. A Maltese first works his way across, then the person desirous to go over draws the box back and seats himself in it, when he is hauled over by the guide; in this manner as many as please can go, one at a time.
>
> It is not a very pleasant sensation to be suspended some hundred feet above the water, and if there is any wind, the movement of the box is anything but agreeable, and all that can be obtained are a few pieces of fungus. I was well pleased to be back again, and made a determination never to risk my precious carcase in that conveyance again. It seems very strange to be swinging up in the air between two rocks, with sea-gulls and other aquatics flying about below you.

[1] From *Malta Sixty Years Ago*, by Claudius Shaw (London, 1875).